

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ERDA-05 AF-10 ARA-10 CIAE-00
DODE-00 EA-07 EUR-12 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 IO-13
L-03 NASA-01 NEA-10 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02
PA-01 PRS-01 OES-07 SS-15 USIA-06 /134 W
-----009753 292258Z /70

R 291817Z JUL 77
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9860
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MEXICO
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
USMISSION NATO
USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 6466

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, CCD, YO
SUBJ: CCD: YUGOSLAV STATEMENT IN JULY 28 PLENARY

BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED

1. SUMMARY: YUGOSLAV JULY 28 STATEMENT IN CCD PLENARY
STRONGLY CRITICIZED COMMITTEE FOR LACK OF PROGRESS ON MAJOR ISSUES,
ASSIGNING BULK OF BLAME TO CO-CHAIRMEN (US, USSR). YUGO-
SLAV REP INDICATED RECOGNITION OF IMPORTANCE OF MAJOR
POWERS REACHING AGREEMENT ON ELEMENTS OF COMPREHENSIVE
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TEST BAN (CTB) AND CHEMICAL WEAPONS (CW) BAN, BUT
CRITICIZED CIRCUMVENTION OF COMMITTEE AND LACK OF
PROGRESS REPORT ON RESULTS OF PRIVATE CONSULTATIONS.
CITING THE UNGA'S SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT AS
A REASON FOR ACCELERATING WORK, YUGOSLAV REP QUESTIONED
WHETHR MEMBERS OF UN WILL CONTINUE TO SHOW UNDERSTANDING
FOR COMMITTEE'S SLOWNESS AND MODEST RESULTS.

END SUMMARY.

2. YUGOSLAV REP (LALOVIC), SPEAKING IN JULY 28 PLENARY SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE COMMITTEE ON DISARMMENT (CCD), NOTED WITH THE GREATEST REGRET THAT THE COMMITTEE IS STILL AT THE POINT OF SETTING OUT GENERAL POSITIONS AND OPINIONS INSTEAD OF CONDUCTING REAL NEGOTIATIONS ON THE MAJOR ISSUES REFERRED TO IT BY THE UN GA (COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN, CHEMICAL WEAPONS, COMPREHENSIVE NEGOTIATING PROGRAM OF ARMS CONTROL MEASURES, NEW MASS DESTRUCTION WEAPONS). YUGOSLAV REP STATED VIEW THAT "THIS YEAR'S COMMITTEE SESSION WILL BE MARKED DOWN AS ONE OF THE LEAST SUCCESSFUL IN RECENT YEARS."

3. DISCUSSING NUCLEAR WEAPONS TESTING WHICH HAS OCCURRED SINCE THE SIGNATURE OF THE 1963 LIMITED TEST BAN TREATY, YUGOSLAV REP STATED THAT THE ADVANCE OF MILITARY TECHNOLOGY IN THE NUCLEAR FIELD HAS BY FAR OUTPACED THE TEMPO OF ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS, WITH THE RESULT THAT "OLD UNSETTLED PROBLEMS ARE COMPOUNDED BY NEW ONES, EVEN MORE COMPLEX AND DANGEROUS FROM THE STANDPOINT OF MAINTAINING INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY." INDICATING AWARENESS THAT DISARMAMENT PROBLEMS ARE VERY COMPLEX AND REQUIRE POLITICAL WILL FOR THEIR OWN SOLUTION, YUGOSLAV REP STATED THAT THESE FACTS DO NOT SUFFICE AS AN EXCUSE FOR INACTION BUT INSTEAD "SHOULD SERVE AS INCENTIVE FOR CONFIDENTIAL

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THE CONSTANT AND PERSEVERING SEARCH FOR SOLUTIONS AND THE UNCEASING AUGMENTATION OF OUR EFFORTS."

4. STATING THAT CCD'S POTENTIAL FOR NEGOTIATING DISARMAMENT MEASURES IS STILL UNDER-DEVELOPED, THE YUGOSLAV REP DECLARED THAT "ACTUALLY, THE COMMITTEE BECOMES A NEGOTIATING BODY ONLY WHEN OUR TWO CO-CHAIRMEN SUBMIT FOR ITS CONSIDERATION THE AGREED TEXTS OF SOME INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS. SUCH HAS BEEN THE PRACTICE OF THE CCD IN THE PAST TEN YEARS, FROM THE NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY TO THE ENVIRONMENTAL MODIFICATION CONVENTION. OTHERWISE, LACKING SUCH AGREEMENT BETWEEN OUR CO-CHAIRMEN, WE ARE FOR THE MOST PART LIMITED TO SETTING FORTH POSITIONS ON QUESTIONS FIGURING ON THE AGENDA."

5. YUGOSLAV REP WENT ON TO SUGGEST ALTERNATE METHODS OF CONDUCTING COMMITTEE'S WORK, REFERRING TO THE TRILATERAL (US, UK, USSR) TALKS ON CTB AND TO THE BILATERAL (US, USSR) TALKS ON CW AND CRITICIZING THEM AS A MEANS OF CIRCUMVENTING THE COMMITTEE. BECAUSE OF YUGOSLAVIA'S IMPORTANCE WITHIN THE NON-ALIGNED GROUP AND THE INTENSITY WITH WHICH THESE VIEWS WERE EXPRESSED, WE ARE TRANSMITTING

THE RELEVANT PASSAGE VERBATIM.

BEGIN TEXT:

IN THE VIEW OF MY DELEGATION, THE COMMITTEE AS A WHOLE WOULD AT THIS MOMENT HAVE MUCH MATERIAL FOR NEGOTIATION. IT COULD DO A HIGHLY USEFUL JOB BY PREPARING DRAFTS OF INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS ON A COMPREHENSIVE NUCLEAR TEST BAN TREATY AND A TREATY PROHIBITING CHEMICAL WEAPONS. DURING THE SPRING SESSION, AND ESPECIALLY AFTER WE RESUMED OUR WORK AT THE BEGINNING OF THIS MONTH, THE COMMITTEE COULD HAVE BEGUN DRAFTING

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 6466

PARTS OF TEXTS ON WHICH IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO REACH GENERAL AGREEMENT EVEN NOW, AS SUGGESTED BY MANY COMMITTEE MEMBERS, WHILE SIMULTANEOUSLY ENDEAVORING BY A JOINT EFFORT TO FIND SOLUTIONS IN PRINCIPLE TO THE REMAINING CONTROVERSIAL QUESTIONS. WE SEE NO PLAUSIBLE

REASON WHY THE COMMITTEE COULD NOT HAVE APPROACHED ITS WORK THIS WAY. WE CANNOT THEREFORE FAIL TO EXPRESS OUR REGRET THAT THE CO-CHAIRMEN NEVERTHELESS SAW FIT TO INSIST ON THE PROGRAM OF WORK FOR THIS YEAR WHICH, PRACTICALLY SPEAKING, REDUCED THIS POSSIBILITY TO A MINIMUM BY MAKING THE COMMITTEE'S ENGAGEMENT IN THE CONFIDENTIAL

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DIRECT NEGOTIATING PROCESS DEPENDENT ON THE OUTCOME OF THEIR BILATERAL OR TRILATERAL CONSULTATIONS.

IT IS NATURALLY NOT OUR INTENTION TO UNDERRATE THE IMPORTANCE OF MUTUAL NEGOTIATIONS CONDUCTED BY THE USSR, USA AND GREAT BRITAIN, OR THE EFFORTS THEY ARE INVESTING IN FINDING RECIPROCALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS. WE HOPE THOSE TALKS WILL CULMINATE IN SUCCESS AND ALSO THAT THEY WILL SOON PERMIT THE COMMITTEE TO DO THE REMAINING PART OF THE WORK.

ON THE OTHER HAND, TO BE QUITE CANDID, WE SEE NO PARTICULARLY PERSUASIVE REASON FOR CIRCUMVENTING THE COMMITTEE THIS TIME, TOO, AND CONDUCTING NEGOTIATIONS OUTSIDE ITS FRAMEWORKS, AND ALSO FOR FAILING TO INFORM IT OF THE COURSE AND RESULTS OF TALKS. IT IS NOT A CONVINCING ARGUMENT TO CLAIM THAT THE PROBLEMS INVOLVED PRIMARILY CONCERN THE NUCLEAR POWERS - WHEN CTB IS IN QUESTION, OR THE TWO LEADING POWERS - WHEN THE PROHIBITION OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS IS IN QUESTION. THE MEMBERS OF A MULTILATERAL BODY IN THE DISARMAMENT FIELD, SUCH AS OUR CCD, SHOULD TAKE VERY ACTIVE PART IN ALL STAGES OF THE NEGOTIATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS THAT THEY ARE SUPPOSED TO PREPARE. THEY SHOULD NOT BE EXCLUDED FROM ANY ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS NOR SHOULD THE POSSIBILITY BE UNDERESTIMATED OF THEIR CONTRIBUTING TO POSITIVE SOLUTIONS WHEN TALKS ENTER THE FINAL PHASE. AND IN NO CASE SHOULD THEY BE PLACED IN THE POSITION OF UNINFORMED OBSERVERS SIMPLY WAITING FOR THE OUTCOME OF TALKS IN THE FORM OF MORE OR LESS FINALIZED SOLUTIONS, MOST FREQUENTLY ATTENDED BY EXPLANATIONS THAT THIS IS THE MAXIMUM THAT COULD BE ATTAINED UNDER THE GIVEN CIRCUMSTANCES AND THAT ANY POSSIBLE CHANGE WOULD SERIOUSLY DISTURB THE BALANCE ON WHICH SUCH SOLUTIONS ARE BASED.

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IT IS OUR PROFOUND CONVICTION THAT THIS IS NOT THE RIGHT WORKING METHOD FOR OUR COMMITTEE AND THAT IT DOES NOTHING TO HELP IT ACHIEVE THE BEST AND MOST EFFECTIVE

RESULTS. INSTEAD OF CONSTANTLY STRIVING TO CREATE CONDITIONS ENABLING OTHER STATES THAT ARE NOT MEMBERS OF THE CCD TO MAKE A USEFUL CONTRIBUTION TO OUR WORK, WE ARE CONTINUING TO NARROW OUR OWN FRAMEWORKS AND TO CURTAIL OUR OWN ABILITIES.

SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEMS OF DISARMAMENT AND LIMITATION OF THE ARMS RACE CALLS FOR THE FULL COMMITMENT OF ALL MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. ALL COUNTRIES, REGARDLESS OF THEIR SIZE OR MILITARY POWER, ARE EQUALLY INTERESTED IN THESE QUESTIONS WHICH HAVE THE MOST DIRECT BEARING ON THE SECURITY OF EACH STATE AND ON THE MAINTENANCE OF WORLD PEACE AND SECURITY. FOR THIS VERY REASON, THE INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS WE CONCLUDE IN THESE FIELDS, TO WHICH OUR COMMITTEE MAKES A SPECIAL CONTRIBUTION, MUST REST ON RESPECT FOR THE BASIC INTERESTS OF ALL MEMBERS OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY. THEY MUST BE THE PRODUCT OF THE JOINT EFFORTS OF STATES FOR, ONLY IF THEY ARE, CAN THEY WIN GENERAL SUPPORT. THIS IS STILL NOT ALWAYS THE CASE WITH THE PRESENT TREATIES. THAT FACT IN ITSELF SHOULD ACT AS A WARNING.

END TEXT.

6. IN CONCLUSION, YUGOSLAV REP DECLARED THAT "OUR COMMITTEE SHOULD NOT FAIL TO MAKE THE GREATEST EFFORT TO DISCHARGE ITS TASK OF COMPLETING THE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATION FOR THE COMPREHENSIVE NUCLEAR TEST BAN TREATY AND THE BAN OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS BY THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. WE SHOULD NOT BE OVERLY CONFIDENT THAT OTHER MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WILL CONTINUE TO SHOW UNDERSTANDING AND TO FIND JUSTIFICATION FOR OUR SLOWNESS, OUR

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INSUFFICIENT ACTIVITY AND THE EXCEPTIONALLY MODEST RESULTS WE HAVE ACHIEVED TO DATE.". END UNCLASSIFIED.

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7. COMMENT: YUGOSLAV STATEMENT WAS INTENSE AND VERY DEEPLY FELT, GIVING THE IMPRESSION OF DELICATELY CONTROLLED FURY. USDEL WOULD ANTICIPATE ECHOES FROM OTHER NON-ALIGNED REPS IN FORTHCOMING WEEKS, PROBABLY INCLUDING REPS OF MEXICO AND ROMANIA. REFERENCE TO SPECIAL SESSION OF UNGA WAS CLEARLY A THREAT ONLY VERY SLIGHTLY VEILED, AND IF NO CW OR CTB INITIATIVE EMERGES BY THIS FALL USDEL WOULD EXPECT YUGOSLAVS TO FOLLOW UP WITH SIMILAR ATTACK AND PERHAPS A CONDEMNATORY RESOLUTION

DURING 32ND UNGA DISARMAMENT DEBATE, END COMMENT.
VANDEN HEUVEL

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